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spread upon the ground and another piece is thrown over the person to be delivered."

The umbilical cord is said never to have been cut with a knife, but either to have been bitten in two by a female relative of the mother or to have been torn apart by the mother with her hands—she was not allowed to bite it. Other informants say that a bamboo knife might be used, but that a metal knife was *tapu*. Neither the cord nor the placenta were allowed [753] to touch the child immediately after birth, lest it contract leprosy through contact with the mother's blood. The cord attached to the child's navel was left long, wrapped on itself, and tied in a knot. Every day when the child was bathed, the attempt was made to sever the cord at the navel with the finger nails until finally it came off. Sometimes it was simply left to fall off of its own accord. According to some accounts it was attached to a tree belonging to the child or it was placed for safe keeping in a coconut log or a chest in the house.

Immediately after the expulsion of the after-birth the mother went to 846 the stream and washed herself and the child. The child was ducked several times, the mother putting her hands over its mouth and ears. When she came out of the stream, she sat upon a sun-heated stone. (It will be seen later that the effect of heat was also utilized in the attempt to stop excessive menstrual flow. Compare also the use of a hot stone in connection with the healing of the wound after intision of a boy's foreskin—see Rites of Childhood. It is to be noted also that, following delivery, a [262] woman could eat only hot food.) Immediately after the woman's bath, her husband had sexual intercourse with her, in the stream according to 833 one informant, or in the birth house upon her return, according to others. 846 In the native mind, the purpose of this was to stop the flow of blood and cause the womb to resume its natural position and condition. A man had [841] sexual intercourse with his wife at times of excessive menstrual flow with the same purpose in mind.

The placenta *(pufe'efe'e)* was buried in deep mud. It was never buried in dry earth, for, according to the native belief, if the placenta dried up, the child would lose vitality and die. Sometimes the afterbirth was merely put into the water and allowed to drift away.

Announcement of Birth

When a male child was born, the grandfather or grandmother an- 851 ● nounced the birth from the platform of the dwelling with a cry, such as *"To'u moupuna te tama oa."* (My offspring is a boy). People then gathered around to hear whether the child had been adopted or was to remain in

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the family, what its name was to be, and so on. The birth of a chief's child was announced by the blowing of his conch.

For some time after birth the mother was not allowed to eat anything cold. Breadfruit paste was heated by dropping hot stones into a bowl full of it. The mother's food was prepared thus for three weeks or a month after delivery—this was supposed to stimulate the flow of milk. Soon after the birth, a purgative was given to the child. This was made by pounding shrimps with a stone pounder and mixing them with coconut milk. After the mixture had been cooked it had the appearance of curry sauce. This was fed to the child for two or three days after birth before suckling began, and is said to have made the *tutai putona* (juices) come out from the child's intestinal system. *Popoi* was fed to infants at a very early age. Young babies were also fed on *mei hupaku*. (See Preparation of Food.) The breadfruit was picked, its ripening hastened by means of a guava stick, and after three days was put in an oven and baked in its skin for three hours. It was then allowed to cool and the meat closest to the core was scraped out, chewed to a pulp by the mother and fed to the child. All food given to infants was chewed by a relative.

Birth Feast

A feast for the members of the family was given at the house on the day of the birth of the child. At this time, the mother's brothers and the father's sisters cut off their hair and took it to an ornament maker to have it made into hair ornaments, which were to belong to the child. According to Langsdorff (18, p. 152) a hog was killed on the day of the birth and another some days after, when the navel string fell off. The first hog was generally eaten by the father alone, but friends were invited to partake of the second. It was customary for relatives and friends to carry presents to the child on the day of birth. To the child of a chief all the members of the tribe came bearing presents. Dordillon gives *tounahee* as a word meaning carrying presents to someone, especially to a new-born child. *Umauma* was a present given to a woman before the birth of her first child, *ava ava*, a present given a woman after her child had been born.

Erection of Shrine for Child

A ceremonial priest *(tuhuna o'ono)* was employed to chant for the newly born the chant called *aumeha*. (See Chants.) At the same time an altar *(ahu)* was erected by the father near the sacred place of the family. This was made of fau poles *(kou fau)* decorated with white cloth and arranged like a fence surrounding a slightly elevated, small platform

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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putona)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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EULOGISTIC CHANTS

PIPINE

The *pipine* was a chant composed in honor of a young woman and sung at a feast prepared to celebrate the occasion of the singing. Such a compliment might be paid by the girl's father, by other relatives, or by friends. The song was taught to a group of young girls who, after thoroughly learning the words, melody, and rhythmic movements, sang it as the central feature of the feast. The girls were seated in rows, and as they sang, accompanied the melody by light clapping with flat hands (*papaki*), varied by the hollow-hand clapping (*pu*), the shoulders and hands at the same time being swung slowly from side to side in rhythm with the melody. The first line was sung alone by the leader or director (*kahua*), and the song was then picked up and carried on by the whole chorus.

In the example presented in melodic figure 4, the young woman is described as preparing herself for the feast to be given in her honor.

POPE

It was the custom in the Marquesas for a father to erect a new dwelling for his first-born son. The *pope* was a song composed for the occasion and sung at the opening of the new house, the song being chanted in the house on the night following the formal consecration and the feast of entrance, by the relatives of the boy. The singing was accompanied by clapping, the hands and shoulders of the singers being swung from side to side in harmony with the rhythm of the song. (See melodic figure 5.)

PUTU

The *putu* (melodic figure 6) was a song for a young man, chanted in his honor at a feast given to celebrate the singing. In a performance observed at Atuona the chorus consisted of men of all ages, but no women. The men stood as they sang, being arranged in concentric semicircles, having the old men with deep voices in the center, the middle-aged men next, and the young men on the outside. They all sang together, apparently in unison, except on the line *"A hau mai te oho he oho,"* which was repeated twice. The first time, this line was sung by the old men in a deep voice (*i a'o*); the second time, by the middle-aged men in a medium voice (*vavena ae*); and the third time, by the young men in the high voice (*mauna nui*).

The accompaniment consisted of drums and clapping. Throughout the whole song the singers clapped (*papaki*) regularly, one, two, three, four, followed by a rest. Occasionally the tempo of the clapping was doubled.

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ity, but socially the child outranked his father from the moment of birth.

The household consisted of the main husband, the wife or wives, and a series of subsidiary husbands. Even with plural wives the men in a household far outnumbered the women. The numerical disparity of the sexes on these islands was puzzling. The Marquesans swore that they did not practice infanticide, yet the ratio of males to females was about two and a half males to one female. It is probable that they did away with the younger girls but kept the practice from cultural notice. The motive for this is hard to ascertain, but it is reasonable to suppose that the group were merely breeding up to their food resources. In good seasons they had more food than population, the surplus being used to fatten pigs; but for bad seasons, when food was scarce, it was necessary to keep the population down by limiting the number of child-bearing women.

The average household consisted then of a household head, a group of other men, and a single wife. The second husband outranked the other subsidiary husbands and took charge of the household in the absence of the head. He also exercised preferential sexual rights with the wife, either with the first husband's permission or during his absence. In the chief's establishment all the husbands would have certain sexual rights with the chief's wife, but when there were a good many husbands, they lived in another house and were called over at the will of either the chief or the wife and rewarded for good service by a night's pleasures. In theory, all members of the household had sexual rights; even servants had access to the head wife if she so wished; actually, the first husband ran things and distributed favors, although it was to his advantage to see that his underlings were sexually satisfied, so that they would work for his house and not wander off with other women.

The household also included the children of the women, either real or adopted, and old people. The Marquesans were perfectly familiar with all the phenomena of physical paternity,

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but they simply did not count it in their social system. Questioned about his parentage, a native would say, "So-and-so is my real father, but the head of my household was Such-and-such, son of—" and go on back through the genealogy of the head. Even in the polyandrous households a woman always knew who the actual father of her child was, and presumably the head of the household also knew, but was not especially concerned about it.

When a man came into a household, he brought no property except his trees and a few personal possessions, but he shared in the products of the household and worked with the other husbands under the direction of the household head to accumulate wealth to raise the status of the group.

Only younger sons became subsidiary husbands, except in cases where a family was so poor that it could not give its eldest son a good start; he might then attach himself to the household of a chief or a wealthy family. There was no fraternal polyandry, brothers always attaching themselves to different households. A secondary husband could secede if he so wished and join another household. He could even set up a separate establishment of his own if he could accumulate enough wealth for the purpose, but this was difficult since the household head had a claim on his work.

The first-born child was really a symbol through which the status of the household was raised. A series of ceremonies was held in his honor from birth on, the size and expense of these ceremonies determining the prestige of the household. Adoption of a child from another household to take the place of the first-born, if there was no son, was a very expensive proceeding, involving a large exchange of household goods and pigs and the giving of feasts. Adoption of a first-born really fused two households into one, a fact which raised the prestige of the eldest child and, through him, of the group backing him.

The formal betrothal and marriage of the first-born with a mate from another household entailed still more elaborate property exchanges. It is interesting to note in this connection